

CHAPTER XXII

MARRIAGE

- 584 THE custom of infant marriage is well established among the Todas, and a child is often married when only two or three years of age. When a man wishes to arrange a marriage for his son, he chooses a suitable girl, who should be, and very often is, the *matchuni* of the boy, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. The father visits the parents of the girl, and if the marriage is satisfactorily arranged he returns home after staying for the night at the village. A few days later the father takes the boy to the home of his intended wife. They take with them the loin-cloth called *tadrp* as a wedding gift and the boy performs the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the father and mother of the girl, and also to her brothers, both older and younger than himself, and then gives the *tadrp* to the girl. Father and son stay for one night at the girl's village and return home on the following morning. Sometimes the girl returns with them to the village of her future husband, but, much more commonly, she remains at her own home till she is fifteen or sixteen years of age.

If a man has not been married in childhood he may undertake the arrangement of his marriage himself, and visit the parents of the girl unaccompanied by his father; and in this case the girl may at once join her husband if she is old enough.

From the time of the child-marriage the boy has to give a *tadrp* twice a year until the girl is ten years old, when its place is taken by a *putkuli*. The *tadrp* which is given at first is very small, worth perhaps only four annas, but as the girl

- 584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik paum stipimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *paetri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

- 781 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkali tãdr ititi*,
616 or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

- 881 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique,
836 who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night
626 and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

- 583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,¹ different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

¹ The prohibitive rule is that the day must not be a *madool* or *patiol*.

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, 686 the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pidri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pidri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrpara* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrpara*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is 616 that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and 588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions 591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mekkethedvial* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
 851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
 58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in
 the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer
 with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover
 the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
 627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
 851 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
 58 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
 to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform
 his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners,
 the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pidri*,
 nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig
 ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After
 a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve
 buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing pur-
 poses. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned
 only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange
 that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused
 Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that
 Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred
 to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become
 the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many
 buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and
pidri were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45).
 She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners
 from infancy, and after having three children, who died young,
 she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3),
 while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was
 taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan
 remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other
 husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
 584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
 595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by
 851 Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
 myself.

THE HISTORY OF PINPURZ KUTAN

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt¹ of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch² on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

¹ This is evidently the same word as *morrt*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

² This is the *Jack*. Hackmann states that it was generally a piece of dyed or painted cotton as at present.

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159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
 584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and
 595 presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
 851 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
 and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consum-
 mation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal
 to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could
 not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first
 bride, I sought to affiancé myself in a manner more to my
 own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family
 of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years
 of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, pre-
 sented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of
 about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to
 present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on
 the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of
 her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo,
 and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed
 to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbūt. When she had
 arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living
 with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from
 those of the family,¹ intimation was sent to me, and I went to
 her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the
 first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a
 few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing,
 and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with
 her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented
 to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a
 necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
 595 first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third
 851 with Tūmbūt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
 the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their
 privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year,
 Khakhood the second, and Tūmbūt the third. I had the
 option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the
 second three, and Tūmbūt the third three; when the option
 again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

¹ This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

CHAPTER XXV.

POLYANDRY—MARRIAGE.

Betrothal—Peculiar nature of Dowry—Ask Papa—'Wilt thou have this man?'—The Wedding Ring—Plurality of Husbands—Confusion of Progeny—Toda expressions for Marriage—The Bow and Arrow in Weddings.

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THE betrothal of the sexes in marriage is arranged in this fashion. The father or other male guardian of the lad—or the young man himself if of age and in a position to negotiate his own affairs—seeks an interview with the male protector of the girl whom he desires to wed. If his project be encouraged, nothing remains in the form of preliminaries but to discuss the amount of endowment—*kēikuli*¹—to be given. This is never paid in cash. Money is a very scarce article in the jungles; money may be, will be spent: and land not being transferable property, as we saw in the last Chapter, whilst kine affords the means of immediate support for a family, and is inheritable, the conference must of necessity be almost entirely restricted to determining the number of cattle—buffalos—of which the *kēikuli* shall consist; which, although it varies to a certain extent, lies commonly between one and four in number.

We imagine the young man to say, 'I will give you two buffalos as *kēikuli* for your daughter.' Here we note that owing to female infanticide, girls are in great demand; hence

¹ *Kēikuli* or *kekuli*. *Kai* = hand. *Koli* = what is received. Dravidian root, *kol* = receive.

Another possible derivation is *kukh* = woman. *Vilai* = price. *Kaikuli* = wages. [POPE.]

the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffalos.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs.

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I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact.

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When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—tashken. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negotiation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union.

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The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

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girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.² Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

The husband now gives his wife a necklace,³ of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

² Literally *Āl* = 'husband' or 'man.' *Kārvoti* = 'wife' or 'she who is bound to me.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

³ Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pāṭhachi* and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

554 Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claiming his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

553 When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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* Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literat Meaning.
1. Father	- <i>Ēn, Eyan.</i>	
2. Mother	- <i>Aff.</i>	
3. Son	- <i>Māh.</i>	
4. Daughter	- <i>Kuh.</i>	
5. Father's elder brother	- <i>Peradin</i>	- Great father.
6. " younger "	- <i>Kiradin</i>	- Little do.
7. " elder sister	- } <i>Nāmi.</i>	
8. " younger "		
9. Mother's elder brother	- } <i>Nāman.</i>	
10. " younger "	- <i>Peradaff</i>	- Great mother.
11. " elder sister		- Little do.
12. " younger "	- <i>Kiradaff</i>	- Brother.
13. Father's brother's son	- <i>As</i>	- Sister.
14. " " daughter	- <i>Akhan</i>	
15. " sister's son	- <i>Nachen.</i>	
16. " " daughter	- <i>Tajmāh</i>	- Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	- <i>As</i>	- Brother.
18. " " daughter	- <i>Akhan</i>	- Sister.
19. " brother's son	- <i>Nachen.</i>	
20. " " daughter	- <i>Tajmāh</i>	- Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for husband and wife beyond *Ālt* and *Tajmāh*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal* for January and July 1871, page 26, *yu* is said to be father in Toda. I do not find it so.

Male Names.

1. *Kōri*, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriari* is so called.
2. *Pernal*, literally a great man.
3. *Nārikūt*, (lit.) child of jackal.
4. *Ponkūt*, (lit.) child of gold.
5. *Tahinkūt*, (lit.) do.
6. *Padrithah*, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.
7. *Kōdālvēn*, (lit.) the man of the funeral.
8. *Ālvēn*, (lit.) a man.
9. *Belavēn*, (lit.) like silver.
10. *Kirāhā*, (lit.) little one.

Female Names.

1. *Kāthavēli*, (lit.) silver coin.
2. *Darsthinir*, (lit.) a jewel seal.
3. *Tahināh*, (lit.) gold one.
4. *Bersth*, no meaning that I can find out.
5. *Depbill*, (lit.) silver ring.
6. *Pondahilkamāl*, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. *Kattahira*, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sircar office.
8. *Pitimuragu*, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. *Piltzates*, (lit.) white ring.
10. *Tākōm*, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

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797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
 582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [i:ɣxu:ɳ] (21, Idrəkwòdr) has one son [pumxu:ɳ]. His sister [sindafu:ɳ]
 184 (Sindavul) married [tua:smongu:ɳ] (59, Tormungudr)¹¹ and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabu:ɳ]. [i:ɣxu:ɳ] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [nasə:n] (son of [teipax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasə:n] and [sindafu:ɳ] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasə:n] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [i:ɣxu:ɳ], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be married to [pumxu:ɳ]. When she came of age however, [pumxu:ɳ], who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father consequently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [təumuʃkʉlɳ]. [i:ɣxu:ɳ] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxu:ɳ] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [təumuʃkʉlɳ] and [sotjabu:ɳ] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [pe:θə:n] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [i:ɣxu:ɳ]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tua:smongu:ɳ] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [i:ɣxu:ɳ]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

δ [i:ɣxu:ɳ]

♀ [sindafu:ɳ] = δ [tua:smongu:ɳ]

δ [pumxu:ɳ] ♀ Mary = δ [nasə:n] δ [təumuʃkʉlɳ] = ♀ [sotjabu:ɳ]

¹¹ A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon
them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of
those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying
only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
616 sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
837 exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur –
582 which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within
the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
835 this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
123 once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the
sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back
with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was
his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls
being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's
sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking
is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the
term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the
rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be
584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
775 especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would
not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
588 however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded
766 to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be pro-
ceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is wide-
spread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages,
and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage
as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the
arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of
polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

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Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroī, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

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Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

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Then the following occurred: Eroī found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

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or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

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Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

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Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods